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John Reeves Esq.

from the Editor

THE
ANTIGALLICAN,

Vol. Vol. Vol.

ANTIQUARIAN

THE
ANTIGALLICAN; ~~X~~

OR,
STRICTURES

ON THE
Present Form of Government
ESTABLISHED

IN
France. *K*

Nihil est æqualitate inequalius.

Il n'y a haine plus capitale qu'entre esgaux. L'Envie & la jalousie des esgaux est le seminaire des troubles, seditions, & guerres civiles. Il faut de *l'inegalité*, mais *modérée*. L'Harmonie n'est pas es sons tous pareils, mais differents & biens accordans.

PIERRE CHARRON DE LA SAGESSE, Liv. I. ch. 58.

LONDON:
Printed for R. FAULDER, Bookseller to his Majesty, in New
Bond Street.

—
1793.

THE
ANTHROPOLOGICAL

INSTITUTION

OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND



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ADVERTISEMENT.

TO THE READER.

THE Author hopes he has all the liberality necessary for a good *Citizen*. He is glad that an Act was passed, which determined the right of Juries to give complete verdicts on Libels; he is not averse to have the Elective Franchise conferred on the Irish Catholics; he is rejoiced that the Penal Statutes on English Catholics were annulled;

annulled ; and, that the English Protestants may have no pretence of complaint, he would repeal those Statutes which bear hard on them. He would reform the proceedings of Ecclesiastical Courts. He would be glad to see a Commutation of Tythes. He can have no objection to a further abolition of useless places, and to a Parliamentary Reform, both in Great Britain and Ireland, provided it can be done *without destroying Constitutional Principles*. This, however, is not the *moment*, when the minds of men are heated, and when Clubs are formed to introduce the *Levelling System* of France.

“ In

“ In a time of ignorance, men
“ have committed the greatest evils
“ without remorse; but in an en-
“ lightened age, they even tremble
“ whilst they are conferring the
“ greatest blessings. They perceive
“ the ancient abuses, they see how
“ they must be reformed, but they
“ are sensible also of the abuses of
“ Reformation; they let the evil
“ continue if they fear a worse;
“ they are contented with a lesser
“ good, if they doubt of a greater;
“ they examine all the parts to judge
“ of them in connection; and they
“ examine all the causes to discover
“ their different effects.”

Such

Such were the sentiments of the
illustrious Writer of the Spirit of
Laws.

"Vive, vale. Siquid novisti rectius istis,

"Candidus Imperti: si non, his utere mecum."

THE
ANTI-GALLICAN.

MUCH has been said of the Rights of Men; now, it would be more just to say, that the law is equal to all men, than that all men are equal by nature: the truth of the last proposition is denied by every day's experience, and serves only to confuse the ideas of the lower ranks of people who are not in the habits of reasoning, and of distinguishing accurately between natural and conventional rights, between perfect and imperfect obligations, between feeling the value of civilized life, and of acknowledging the reciprocity of allegiance and protection—There cannot be rights without duties annexed.

Political liberty is a blessing; but it is valuable only as it produces private liberty and individual happiness: "It is only
" good, as it gives us the power of enjoy-
" ing what we possess; where there is
B " nothing

“ nothing to enjoy, it is useless ; where it
 “ can be employed in doing evil to our-
 “ selves or others, it is pernicious.”* Re-
 straint must begin somewhere. This in
 Mr. Paine’s sophistry, is called oppression.
 He defines the established Government to
 be tyranny, because it enforces obedi-
 ence : Its degrees, until repealed, are abso-
 lute.

Liberty is nothing positive :—it is nei-
 ther a dwelling, nor a loaf of bread. It is
 the absence of unjust restraint ; and abso-
 lute or excessive liberty is the absence of
 every restraint whatever. In this latter
 sense it is understood by its present advo-
 cates, who have struck medals with Li-
 berty and Equality on one side, *no Taxes,*
no Government, on the other.

In the insurrections of the Peasants of
 Germany, in the 16th century †, under
 Munzer, one part of them pleaded for an
 exemption from all law, a licentious im-
 munity from all sorts of Government.

“ There is no term,” says Montesquieu,
 “ which has operated upon men’s minds
 “ in so many different ways, as the word

* Sir Brooke Boothby.

† Robertson’s History of Charles V. V. 1. B. 4. for
 an account of the Anabaptists of the 16th Century.

“ Liberty.”

“ Liberty.” The *power* of the People is confounded with the *liberty* of the People : Even Dr. Price, in his writings, perpetually perplexes his readers by misapplying these terms ; and so do all his Pupils in sedition, when to flatter the populace, they instill into them that they may do what they please.

“ It is true, that in democracies, the
 “ people seem to act as they please ; but
 “ political liberty does not consist in an
 “ unlimited freedom. In Governments,
 “ that is, in societies directed by laws, li-
 “ berty can consist only in the power of
 “ doing what we *ought* to will, and in not
 “ being constrained to do what we *ought*
 “ *not* to will.*”

Certain it is, that the people cannot convert cruelty, folly, and nonsense, into acts of beneficence, utility, and wisdom. A Sovereign Prince is liable to be deposed for male-administration ; but a people under no controul, is amenable to no human tribunal ; their greatest enormities parcelled out into numberless shares, are considered as innocent ; and when compunction ought to follow, they are consoled with this, that there is no other state

* Montesquieu, L. 11. C. 3.

of existence.—Still let us, who acknowledge a Divine Being the Sovereign Judge of the Universe, who will be strict to mark iniquities, contend against sophists, that the majority having the power to do what they list, have not the right; otherwise power and right, as in the hands of Omnipotence, would be inseparable. They must, or ought to be governed by reason and justice. Evil must not be attempted for a contingent good; they are to consider, whether the benefits to be obtained in remedying the evils, are of a magnitude to compensate for the destruction and confusion which is inevitable; if not, they are to desist. Those who tell the people, that their voice is the voice of Heaven, are pernicious Demagogues, who mean to tyrannize in their name.

If a majority are bound by no laws, human or divine, and have no rule but their caprice and sovereign will, what security can any individual have for the protection of his unalienable rights, or even his property? Mr. Fox very truly said, there is no tyranny so severe, (because none so hopeless,) as that which exercised by the majority over the minority. A majority of the National Convention* exercise

* In the Republics of Italy, where these three Powers are united, there is less Liberty than in our Monarchies.
M. Rabaud

exercise Legislative, Executive, and Judicial power—this is tyranny. A member denied to the king his inviolability, because not decreed by that august body; as well might the orator have contended, that he had not a right to the coat on his back, because the nation in the primary assemblies had not made a formal conveyance of it. Let the Convention or primary assemblies declare what they will, the eternal and immutable laws of Justice and Morality are paramount over all human legislation. They may preamble the new code, that the commandment to obey God rather than man, is an allusion: black will not become white on their fiat. All that is within the competence of human tribunals is to approach the nearest they can to the perfection of reason, considering jurisprudence as Aristotle did, as the most perfect branch of ethics: “*Devinarum atque Humanarum rerum notitia, Justi atque injusti scientia.*” *

So far as we are able to discover by human reason, the Creator in all dispen-

M. Rabaud told the Convention, that he was weary of the Tyranny which he exercised every day, by confounding these Powers. He added, “*Je Soupire apres le moment ou vous aurez crée un Tribunal qui me fasse perdre les formes et l'apparence d'un Tyran.*”

* Institut. Justiniani,

sations

fations, conforms to eternal and immutable laws of fitness, founded in those relations to justice, which existed in the nature of things antecedent to any positive precept: who then will be arrogant enough to say, that these fundamental principles shall be violated, or under the notion of expediency, the barriers, which seperated right and wrong shall be thrown down and trampled on :

“ Then every thing include itself in power,
 “ Power into will—will into appetite,
 “ And appetite, an universal Wolf;
 “ So doubly fecundated by will and power,
 “ Must make perforce an universal prey,
 “ And last eat up itself.”

SHAKSPEARE TRIOLUS.

This fatal position, which brought the inhabitants of some parts of Europe to think that to their civil Liberty to which they had a right, it was necessary to annex power, personally and individually, to which they had no right, and which it was impracticable so to annex to it, has poisoned their minds, and instead of Freemen, has peopled the land with tyrants.

A despotic monarchy differs from a despotic democracy but in name; the method of establishing and supporting both systems
 is

is exactly the same, *compulsion for their good* is the cry in both; they equally take away the liberty of speech, and freedom of the press.

From numerous bodies of men collected together, instead of settled will and sober opinions, we get nothing but their turbulent and hasty passions: allow these to subside, and the reign of demagogues is over. Agitators are never wanting to mix with the multitude and by feigned tales to lead them on to violence and slaughter, for their own ambitious purposes;—Such men were frequent at Athens and at Rome—Such men rose to pre-eminence in the civil wars of France and England—Such are the flagitious men who have seized on the supreme authority at Paris—Should these be taken off by a fickle mob, others will succeed, and be the tyrants of a day.

A Republican Government well constructed, has often been compared to a pyramid, whose foundation is laid on the broad basis of the people, and whose powers gradually rise 'till they end in a point: the French democracy so far from being built of durable materials, like the Egyptian Granite, to bid defiance to the ravages of time, resembles a pyramid

mid of new-mown grass, *vulgo* a hay-cock, stacked while it is green, and which cannot fail to ferment and take fire *.

The doctrines of the day respecting the absolute and illimitable sovereignty of the people, teach only a transfer of despotism, from the Prince to the rabble.—The destructive and abhorred principle is the same. As well might be expected that aggregate folly should produce true wisdom, as that aggregate despotism should produce true liberty.

The French Philosophers have succeeded in persuading the giddy multitude, that political power is a personal right, without which they cannot enjoy civil liberty : as well might it be contended, Mr. Sheridan remarks, that the being well lodged, did not consist in our having a good house, but in labouring with our own hands in the building of one. Even *practically* it is not a personal right, for females, who are half of the community, are excluded,

No Government should possess a greater degree of power, than is sufficient for the protection of the community at large, and for the conservation of the civil rights of its members. Why then should the *people*

* Nare's Principles of Government.

be invested with more political power than is sufficient to these ends?

In the Netherlands, in the revolution against the Emperor Joseph, the word Liberty was wretchedly abused to favor the detestable projects of ambitious Aristocrats and superstitious Monks; it is now used there under Jacobine banners, to mean that *perfect equality*, which is destructive to property, and tends to universal disorganization.

When emancipation was granted by the Empress of Russia to some Serfs, these ignorant men immediately thought, that commission and authority were devolved upon them to eject their Lords; and when all feudal tenures were abolished in the ever-memorable night of the 12th of August, the Peasants, who could not comprehend this distinction, by the confession of M. Cerutti, a Democratic Writer, erected gibbets in several places to hang the Landlords or Stewards, who claimed their wonted rents†.

Arthur Young was informed on authority, not to be doubted, that Associations

† Swinton's Travels.

among Tenantry to a great amount and extent, had been formed within 50 miles of Paris, for the non-payment of rent; saying, in direct terms, we are strong enough to detain the rent, and you are not strong enough to obtain the payment. Further from the Capital, the tenants refuse their rents, alledging, that the King and National Assembly had transferred the property of the soil.

Would any friend to humanity and order, who had witnessed the scenes of 1780, when the metropolis of London was on the point of being consigned to one undistinguished devastation, go to St. Giles's for legislators, to put into action such a tremendous power, which is competent only to the purposes of destruction, and totally incapable either to create or preserve *? When once put in motion, they soon get beyond all restraint and controul; the right of men to life, liberty, and property, oppose but a feeble barrier to them. The beauteous face of Nature, the elegant refinements of art, the repositories of wisdom, the sanctuaries of religion, are all equally liable to become obnoxious to them.

* Adams.

Whatever

Whatever meets with their displeasure, must be devoted to ruin. When the National Assembly directed the electrical fluid of this popular phrenzy against the ancient fabric of their Monarchy, its Members thought they could not purchase too dearly the fall of arbitrary power, but they were not aware of the fatal consequences of committing the existence of an Empire to the custody of a lawless and desperate rabble. Do the people of England labour under such intolerable oppression, as will authorize any of their *patriots* to employ a remedy like this for their relief?

National will, a catch word, is misapplied by ill-designing men, to mislead the unwary. Government should be something stable; what is now proposed is, that it should be like the moving sands of the desert, and like them be the emblem of sterility.—“ Quod est in Imperitâ multitudine
“ vitiosissimum, est varietas et Inconstan-
“ tia et crebra tanquam Tempestatum, sic
“ Sententiarum, Commutatio*.” A nation having delegated all their collective power, it is not true that they have a right in their *original character* to change their

* Cicero.

form of Government, unless grievances shall arise, to which there is no remedy, and unless every constitutional mode of obtaining redress has been attempted in vain. Those who think it as easy for a nation to change its Government as to change their dress, ought to point out a better method than yet has been proposed, for the great body to act in their *original character* ; they should likewise prove the transcendant advantages to be derived from such a total dissolution of the bonds of society, without disguising the great danger and formidable difficulties with which it is inevitably attended. All which is wanted in the delegation of power is, that care be taken in the distribution of it, to guard against the abuses to which it is liable, and which alone are dangerous. Even the power of altering the Constitution may be delegated and exercised by Government, on critical occasions. It is implied in this, that it is the essence of every free Government to exercise extraordinary powers for the conservation of the State. The Senate of Rome granted unlimited power for a short time under these words—that the Magistrate was to take care, “*nequid detrimenti republica capiat.*”

To

To fet a populace loose from all the ties of opinion, of religion, of morals, of manners, of ancient customs, nothing more is necessary than some war hoop, some word of alarm. The multitude is led away by sounds; but, if sounds work miracles, it is always upon ignorance. The influence of names is in exact proportion to the want of knowledge*.

Should a Sans Culotte, with a dagger in his hand, and his eyes flaming with rage, be desired to define the crime of Aristocracy he was about to punish, after muttering a few words, with the perseverance of a *Parrot*, he would turn from you with a shrug, as if he pitied your extreme ignorance. With the same stupidity and malice, did the Barbarians of former times pursue the unhappy objects of public vengeance, who were pointed out to them as Heretics. For both Aristocracy and Heresy are terms derived from an heathen or outlandish tongue, and may be supposed to comprehend every thing which is diabolical.

* Foot.

The mutual reproaches of Whig and Tory, as little to be explained, operated like a charm upon minds prepared to receive it. The malice contained in these factious cries has died away, but to be supplied by party distinctions, replete with infinitely greater mischief. Formerly, Liberty and Property were sounds grateful to the ears of Englishmen, and no party could lay claim to popular favor, who did not promise to secure both one and the other. In the new vocabulary, *Equality* so far from meaning security of property, aims at a new division in favor of the idle and the profligate. The war is less against ranks and distinctions, than against accumulation of wealth; and it has been pronounced, over and over again in the National Assemblies, that rich men were more dangerous from their riches, than the *ci-devant noblesse*, (former gentry) from their titles*.

Exception has been taken at Mr Burke's opprobrious term *Swinish* multitude. I am ready for one (if this expression does not apply to the tyrannicide mob of Paris, kept

* M. Venguioux in his Speech of the 3d of July.—
Warville on all occasions.

in a state of intoxication for three or four days together, and marched under the desperate leaders of the 10th of August, and the 3d of September, to overturn Royalty, and to subvert the new Constitution they had sworn to defend) to change the epithet to *tygerish* multitude*; the more so, as Voltaire, who knew his nation better than myself, has assured us, that it is a mixture of the Tyger and the Ape†. The fact is, the Monkey-compound has disap-

*A celebrated Historian, writing to his friend has remarked, that no people, so far as his acquaintance with History extends, ever delighted in blood as the French Democrats. It is to be hoped, that the Act of Parliament to put suspected Emigrants under the power of the Civil Magistrate, and to take away their arms, will be the means to prevent an English mob from learning the use of the dagger, instead of employing their fists. Let it not be imagined, that since the French populace have been familiarized to deeds of blood, they are less vicious. Gaming, dissipation, and enormities of every kind, were never so barefaced at Paris, as at the present moment; for this, we have the evidence of the present Mayor. So far therefore as this sovereign people, free from restraint, are groveling in vice, they may be truly denominated a *swinish* multitude. But all the lower ranks of mankind, even when the laws against immorality are put in execution, are *swinish* in this respect, that they indulge themselves in low vice, such as drunkenness and debauchery. In the country, the young women are seldom married before they have had a bastard; in the cities, many of the Foundling children are infected with a loathsome disease.

† Tyger Singe.

peared

peared with the Aristocratical part of the Community, and left the wanton cruelty of the Tyger to be claimed exclusively by the Democracy. Now God protect the Nation, continued the satirist, when the Monkey extraction shall be worn out.

“ Government is instituted, in order to
 “ restrain the fury and injustice of the
 “ people; and being always founded on
 “ opinion, not on force, it is dangerous to
 “ weaken by speculations the reverence
 “ which the multitude owe to *authority*,
 “ and to instruct them *before-hand*, that the
 “ case can ever happen when they may
 “ be freed from their *duty of allegiance**,”

All Demagogues who have sowed sedition, (the Catalines of the day) have invariably acted for their own ambitious purposes. The great apostle of perfect equality, Jean Jaques, would have candidly told the French nation, that such a system was by no means suited to their immense territory and population. He would not have flattered their passions; he would have told them, as he told the Poles, that temperance, moderation, and a

* Hume's Life of Charles .

rigid regard to justice, were necessary virtues in a Republican. His words are worth reciting:—"Liberty is wholesome and substantial food, but hard of digestion; and it requires very healthy stomachs to bear it. I laugh at those corrupt people, who, suffering themselves to be bound together by faction, dare to talk of Liberty without having any idea of it; who, with hearts abounding in all the vices of slavery, imagine that to be licentious is to be free. August and sacred Liberty! if these poor people could but understand thee; if they could know at what a price they must purchase and preserve thee; if they could be sensible how much more austere thy laws are found, than the yoke of the harshest tyrants, their weak minds, enslaved by passions which they are obliged to stifle, would fear thee a hundred times more than servitude; they would fly thee with terror, as a burthen under which they must be crushed!" The Abbé Sieyès, who gave the plan of the Declaration of Rights, should have foreseen to what consequences such latitude exposed the new Constitution: afterwards, when he came to be pinched himself as an Ecclesiastic, he cried out in agony and wrath, "Vous voulez être libres, et vous ne savez pas être justes."

D

Montesquieu

Montesquieu, justly admired for his wisdom and penetration before the Levellers prevailed, warned mankind of the danger of breaking down Constitutional barriers, and of bringing into contempt the laws and customs of a country *.

A people, said he, who have any morals, and consequently respect the laws, cannot be too much upon their guard against the specious and dogmatical maxims of philosophers, which, prompting them to despise the laws and customs of his country, lead to general and inevitable corruption of manners.—The most important of all laws, that which is written neither on marble, nor on brass, but on the hearts of the people, which forms the true CONSTITUTION of a State, which acquires every day new force, which, when the other laws become ineffectual or obsolete, restores them and supplies their place, which preserves in a nation the spirit of its Constitution, and insensibly substitutes the force of habit in the place of authority, this power-

* Every change in the customs of a nation, however advantageous in other respects, is always prejudicial to morals. Customs are the morals of the people; when they cease to respect their ancient customs, there remains no restraint upon their passions, except the laws which may restrain vicious actions, but cannot reform vicious men. J. J. ROUSSEAU.

ful

ful and solid law contains the manners, the customs, and, above all, the opinions of the people.

* The Democratical principle is corrupted, not only when the spirit of Equality is extinct, but likewise when they fall into a spirit of extreme Equality †, and when each Citizen would fain be upon a level with those whom he has chosen to command him. Then the people, incapable of bearing the very power they have delegated, want to manage every thing themselves, to debate for the Senate, to execute for the Magistrate, and to decide for the Judges.

* Montesquieu, L. VIII. c. 2.

† Montesquieu gives from Xenophon's Banquet a very lively description of a Republic, in which the people abuse their Equality. Each guest gives, in his turn, the reason why he is satisfied. "Content I am (says Chamides), because of my poverty. When I was rich, I was obliged to pay my court to informers, knowing I was more liable to be hurt by them than capable of doing them harm. The Republic constantly demanded some new tax of me; and I could not decline paying. Since I am grown poor, I have acquired authority; nobody threatens me; I rather threaten others, I can go or stay where I please. The rich already rise from their seats, and give me the way. I am a king; I was before a slave: I paid Taxes to the Republic; now it maintains me: I am no longer afraid of losing, but I hope to acquire."

When this is the case, virtue can no longer subsist in the Republic. The people are desirous of exercising the functions of the Magistrates, who cease to be revered. The deliberations of the Senate are slighted: all respect is then laid aside for the Senators, and consequently for old age. If there is no more respect for old age, there will be none presently for parents: deference to husbands will be likewise thrown off, and submission to masters. This licentiousness will soon become general, and the trouble of command be as fatiguing as that of obedience. Wives, children, slaves, will shake off all subjection. No longer will there be any such things as manners, order, or virtue.

Democracy has two excesses to be avoided; the spirit of Inequality, which leads to Aristocracy or to the Monarchy of one, and the spirit of *extreme* Equality, which leads to Anarchy, and finishes in Despotism.

* As distant as Heaven is from earth, so is the true spirit of *Equality* from that of *extreme Equality*. The former does not imply that every body should command, or that no one should be commanded, but

* Montesquieu, L. VIII. c. 3.

that

that we obey or command our equals. It endeavours not to shake off the authority of a master, but that its masters should be none but its equals.

In the state of nature, all men are born equal; but they cannot continue in this Equality: society makes them lose it; and they recover it only by the protection of the laws; to which obedience must be given, to enable the Magistrate to insure general protection. If a Citizen could do what the laws forbid, he would be no longer possessed of liberty, because all his fellow Citizens would have the same power.

* Another French Writer in favour of Liberty has properly represented, that it does not consist, as some have vainly imagined, in a supposed Equality of all Citizens, a chimera adored in all Democratical States, but totally incompatible with our nature, as we are formed with unequal faculties of body and mind. Such *extreme Equality* is not only unjust, but inconsistent with the public weal, which requires that men the most useful to the State, should receive honours and rewards, in proportion to their services, without being dis-

* Systeme Soc. F. II. ch. 3.

charged

charged by such grants from a general submission to the laws of the land. True Liberty consists in obedience to a code of laws, so contrived, as to apply a remedy to the natural inequality of our species, and which gives protection equally to the poor and to the rich, to the highest and the lowest, to the Prince and the subject. Whence it follows, that Liberty, properly understood, is a system equally advantageous to all the Members of the Community.

A Democracy, says the same author, is a prey to intrigues, to unbridled licence, to general anarchy, and cannot procure happiness to its Citizens; on the contrary, it renders them much more unhappy and uneasy than are the subjects of a Despot.

The American Legislators* have wisely provided barriers against the inroads of a needy populace; first, by instituting a Senate

* The qualification in Massachuset's and New Hampshire is a freehold of £. 3 a year, or other estate of £. 60 in value. Connecticut is a country of substantial freeholders, and the old government remains. In New York, Electors of the Senate must have £. 100, free from debts; and those of the Assembly freeholds of £. 40 a year, rated and paying taxes. In Pennsylvania, the payment of taxes is necessary. In Maryland, the possession of 50 acres of land, or other estate, worth £. 30. In

nate respectable, from an experience derived from age and practice; secondly, by fixing qualifications of property, both for the electors and elected.---Instead of throwing down the necessary fences in Great Britain and Ireland, they should be renewed, by increasing the sum: the 40s. qualification of an Elector of a County, at the time the Act was passed, being equal to £. 40 in present money.

Mr. Horne Tooke, so hearty for a Parliamentary Reform, has been always uniformly of opinion, that a qualification was needful. He is not like his wild friend Mr. Cooper, though there is nobody who had given him more solid reasons than Cooper why the right of suffrage should be regulated by the possession of property; and we may assert, with great truth, that what he has introduced in his pamphlet, in contradiction to his former sentiments, is mere declamation.

Mr. Cooper laid it down, that a line of seclusion may be drawn, and no injustice done, by debarring those from voting in

In Virginia, 25 cultivated acres, with a house on them. In North Carolina, for the Senate 50 acres; for the Assembly, payment of taxes. And in all the States, there are qualifications much more considerable, necessary to be eligible to be elected.

the

the choice of National Representatives, who, on account of their poverty, are exempted from the payment of all taxes. For, first, no person can demand to interfere in framing laws, who contributes nothing to the expence of enacting or enforcing them. Secondly, nor can any one demand this, who possesses no ostensible pledge that he will submit to the execution of them. Thirdly, by far the greatest part of the laws relates to objects in which such a person has no interest. Fourthly, a certain quantity of territory is essential to a political community, and it is optional to the possessors thereof, to admit or to reject on their own terms, as Members of the Community, those who have no proprietary or usufructuary right to any such territory; provided also it be no less optional to the latter to accept or reject a membership on the terms proposed. Fifthly, as so large a portion of every community consists of regulations concerning property, the right of suffrage ought to be considered as connected with both objects of law, viz. persons and property. Even if two separate legislatures were provided, one for a civil and the other for a criminal code, yet would the preceding objections hold with respect to the latter. Sixthly, the exclusion on the ground above-mentioned would extend to so small a portion of
of

of the society, that where the representation is adequate, there would be little chance but the regulations would accord with the inclinations of a majority of the whole community.

To the preceding reasons may be added, said Mr. Cooper to the Manchester Society, the difficulty of ascertaining the number of voters, if mere personality gave the right; the probable suspicion of want of knowledge and independence in this class of people; the consideration that those who enjoyed the right in question would be equally interested with the persons included, as to those laws in which alone the latter could claim an interest; the stimulus and exertion which the exclusion would furnish, and the superior facility with which the suffrages of a community could be collected, if confined to householders, paying, as the term is in English, scot and lot.

Christie *, a Democratic Writer, has acknowledged that property is the base on which representation ought to be founded. In America, there is not a single State in which voters must not have a qualification: and in general it should be remem-

* V. I. p. 196.

bered, that Taxes being few, the qualification excludes many more voters than a similar regulation in Europe. In constituting the Legislatures also, the American States*, except Pennsylvania, have two Houses. The Congress itself meets in that form. Thus a ready explanation is found, saith Arthur Young, in his Tour †, of that order, regularity, and security of property, which strikes every eye in America; a contrast to the spectacle which

* Georgia is the only one of the Thirteen Provinces, in which the Legislature has been committed to one Chamber: but it is to be remarked, that, watchful against the mischiefs of such a Constitution, the inhabitants have contrived to temper it by peculiar restrictions, which do not exist in other Colonies.—In those States, which have been composed of two Houses, the Senate is appointed the tribunal to try crimes of malversation and treason, on an impeachment of the Lower House. In every one of the American States, the power of pardoning offences is lodged in the Executive Power. In France, this prerogative was taken from the Executive Power in the hands of the King. The Constituent Assembly, after ransacking the American Governments, took neither of them for a model, but culled the most anarchial ingredients from the most Democratic Colonies, which they mingled together as the witches of Macbeth, “to make” a deed without a name.”

“ Round about the cauldron go,

“ In the poisoned entrails throw

“ Double, double, toil and trouble,

“ Fire burn, and cauldron bubble.”

† Page 551.

France

France has exhibited; where confusion of every sort has operated in the greatest degree, in which property is insecure, in which the populace both legislate and execute, not laws of their representatives, but of their own transitory wills. Abbé Raynal told this intelligent traveller, that he saw the necessity of an Upper House, and that he dreaded a mere Democratic Government, which he thought a species of Republic ridiculous for such a kingdom as France.

Mirabeau meant, it is believed, to have proposed in due time an Upper House, and to have restored some of the most illustrious and ancient families to compose it.—Many who voted for the extinction of titles, were in the persuasion, that they should be benefited by being selected to form the Senate.

In the most popular Government of ancient Greece, that of Athens, a Census and a qualification of property was required to be capable of being elected to a Public office. So much was property esteemed a pledge for the faithful discharge of duty at Rome, that no person could be made a Senator, unless he possessed a considerable estate, and if, by

squandering, he lost it, he was expelled the Senate*.

The absurd part of the French Constitution, founded on what they call Liberty and Equality, is, that Taxes are imposed by men who have no property, and that the prosperity of a nation is committed to the care of those who have nothing to lose. All the Members of the last National Assembly were not supposed to possess £. 5000 a year real estate, and that sum vested in few hands. The present Convention, who have ordered their Generals to carry war in support of any people who shall demand their aid, is composed of men of less ostensible property. Most of the leaders have been in dishonourable employments for bread. With regard to

* I agree with Sir William Temple, that to preserve the independence of the English Peers, part of their landed property, in proportion to their rank, should be settled on the Peerage, and be unalienable during its continuance. This would be no novelty, because an instance is to be produced of a Peer losing his Peerage on account of his poverty, and is preferable to what was done lately in Ireland, when the House of Lords petitioned the Crown to confer a pension on one of their body: and when they were obliged to censure another, who, from penury, offered to take a bribe for his vote in a private cause. As men are fond of honours, and are greedy of places, a Tax, such as in Spain, should be levied on the creation, according to the degree of rank, or according to the income of the place, in the manner the Clergy pay their First Fruits.

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the Electors, it is well known that the small qualification of the price of three days labour is rescinded, and that all men having legs and arms, have an equal vote to send Members to the Grand Council of the Nation.

The Romans had different ranks, and voted according to an assessment of their property in their *Commitia Centuriata*, putting those who had little into one century, and excluding those absolutely who had nothing to lose. The contrivance of the French Democracy has been, that the rich, if not annihilated, should be at the mercy of the poor; by splitting the authority of the Nation into too many parts, they have weakened the Executive Power; and by giving a preference to numbers, instead of qualifications, they have methodised and perpetuated anarchy. The same regulations would produce universally the same pernicious consequences.

The prosperity of the Roman Republic arose to its summit by a different policy. They had not only qualifications, but, in the best times of the Common Wealth, they testified their regard to patrician blood. The State declined, when the freedom of Rome was granted to too many of their allies, and when armed slaves appeared in
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the Forum as Roman Citizens, proscriptions followed as each side prevailed, and people were driven from their property, to make room for disbanded veterans. An Agrarian Law, was a constant theme of noisy Demagogues. The common people sold their suffrages; besides which, they expected to be gratified with expensive shews, to pay for which, the Governors of Provinces were guilty of the most unheard of exactions. At length, anarchy * became so great, by the people's interfering constantly with the Executive Government, that moderate men willingly acquiesced in the government of one, as a remedy for a greater evil.

At Athens, when the people destroyed the Senate wisely established by Solon, the Republic became as a ship without a rudder. Solon being interrogated whether the Government he had planned for his countrymen was the best which could be devised, answered, "the best the Athenians are capable of." Perfection is not attainable in Government. The Areopagus

* When their morals were corrupted, the more power they were possessed of, the less prudent was their conduct; till, at length, upon becoming their own tyrants and slaves, they lost the strength of Liberty, and fell into the weakness and impotency of licentiousness. MONTESQ.

of

of Athens was a tribunal, to which it was asserted the Gods themselves might appeal; whereas only infernal spirits could have appealed to that frantic body. The people assembled, who, under the direction of base and factious Demagogues, banished and put to death their most meritorious citizens. The Ochlatiæ *, or mob government of this city, was a complete system of rascality.

Carthage had a Senate, and was considered by Aristotle as a well-regulated Republic. It prospered till the Senate lost its authority in the second Punic War.--- After this, its declension was rapid.

The Spartan Republic, which survived (as might be expected) the Athenian Democracy, consisted of a Senate and hereditary Kings. In this singular Commonwealth, property was equalised, but industry was annihilated, and to maintain the burghers in this idleness, a whole people, called Helots, nearly twice as numerous as the citizens, were kept in the most abject slavery; and whenever, by increase of population, they became dangerous, a number of them was cut off by massacre. The use of money was forbidden. All

* Arch. Att. L. I. ch. 3.

were clothed alike at the public charge, and served with the same food at the public tables. Still the improvement of the race of citizens was a favourite object of Lacedemonian policy, and they ever gave a preference to the Aristocratical form of Government, as the least liable to Revolutions.

A modern Grecian Historian was led by his subject to consider the propriety of the abolition of rank in France, and ends with declaring, that after a mature reflection, on the events of which he had given a faithful but melancholy recital, he is persuaded that a pure Democracy is a detestable Government; and that on all occasions of popular jealousy and alarm, the populace have proceeded with barbarity against their acknowledged superiors, either by birth, riches, or moral excellence.

The continuance and propagation of families make a great part of the Jewish law. Their genealogies are carefully preserved throughout the Old and New Testament. A code was made for this chosen people in the Wilderness, which, on taking possession of the promised land, had its full effect. We see nothing in this code written by an inspired person, which will
justify

justify a plan of *extreme Equality*. On the contrary, God has expressly said, "the poor shall never cease out of the land."

The Jewish law indeed did not permit those of their nation to be slaves, but foreigners might be slaves; and the protection given to them was very incomplete, because, as the Mosaic law expresses it, *he is his money*.

All Republicans have been cruel, and the nearer they have approached to a Democracy, the more oppressive they have been. To intrust the rabble with the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial powers, is a folly little short of sending to Bedlam for the most enlightened of mankind to fill the places of the Senators and Judges of Westminster. The fact is, that men are to be trained to the love of law and order, and to the exercise of the difficult and complicated powers of Government, in the same manner as they are to be instructed in a manufacture or abstruse science. Men naturally are neither learned or adroit; they are neither born *Philosophers* nor *Stay-makers*. They are neither religious, virtuous, humane, or brave. Courage, distinguished from ferocity, is acquired. It is a principle arising from reason and reflection. Children are cruel until taught to be otherwise. All

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savages

savages are cruel ; many of them are cannibals. To assign to low mechanics and fish-women the cool intrepidity and generosity of the Chevalier Bayard, is as absurd, as to imagine that a savage may possess all the virtues, all the learning, all the humanity, all the elegance of Julius Cæsar, united with the goodness of Socrates.

The French are beginning at the wrong end *. Before we make people more powerful, we should endeavour to make them better qualified for it ; least, by giving them *power* before they have acquired *wisdom*, we make them more unhappy, and more vicious than before. It is to be feared, that the hasty Declaration of Rights, to minds which were so much disposed to *monopolize them to themselves*, and to leave none to their neighbours, has let loose too great a variety of turbulent and selfish passions, to be composed and restrained by the feeble voice of soft persuasion.

An Utopian and ineffectual remedy for this evil, as experienced in France, is a promised well-digested scheme of national education, by affording to the poor the elements of knowledge at the public charge.

* Christie.

We have no reason to think that any plan can be adopted better than our Charity and Sunday Schools, and except to convey a sense of religion and love of order, I do not know of any great utility in these seminaries. M. Condorcet flatters himself that by such public instruction, the time will come when there shall be but one opinion in religion. He must mean, that the belief of Christian Revelation shall be done away, for, in his book, he seems carefully to have excluded an established worship. Manuel has presented a Treatise of Education, taken mostly from the Grecian Republics, which has no reference whatever to Religion. One extraordinary thing in Condorcet's plan I cannot omit to mention; namely, that the two sexes are to meet together at the same schools. Can he imagine, that when opportunity is given, the passions of youth will be repressed by any precepts of the master? Their clubs are not instituted for midnight orgies, but in those of them where men and women meet together to *discuss their natural rights*, things pass at which British modesty must blush, and blunt honesty become indignant.

There is no Englishman who would not have been shocked at what passed in the Convention on the question of Primary
 F 2 Schools.

Schools (*Ecoles Primaires*). Jacob Dupont, who objected both to the number and the expence, told the Convention, that Schools for the instruction of youth in revealed religion were worse than ufeless; that the doctrine of a future state was the imposition of priestcraft; that the precept to obey God rather than man was false: he acknowledged himself to be an atheist, and hoped to see the day, when the Pantheon, instead of being devoted to public worship, should be the resort of philosophers, giving instruction to pupils, assembled from all parts of the world, and who, returning home, would disseminate their principles, and render them universal.

There is nothing so obvious as that the common people in France are more ignorant than ours, consequently they are more easily duped by crafty impostors. Unfortunately the human mind cannot be without action, and grown men, as well as children, if not occupied in doing good, are employed in doing mischief. Men must have opinions, good or bad; they must have prejudices, if they have not knowledge, and superstition if they have not religion. The bitter fruits of all this we have seen brought to maturity in France. Their irreligion, under a pretended indifference to all sects, so far from
being

being innocent and full of forbearance, is proved, by the persecutions which the established pastors have undeservedly undergone, to be cruel in the extreme.

The narrow powers of reasoning, which ignorant persons usually possess, serve to mislead, instead of guiding them. They are apt to make very improper comparisons between the supposed happy state of the rich and their own hardships, poverty, and, as they esteem it, unhappy fate. They are apt to say, what better are they than me? That man, then, is the best friend to the poor, who, like the Bishop of Llandaff, instead of finding arguments to increase their discontents, soothes their passions, allays their heats, and shows them the advantages they derive from civilized life, with all its inequalities of rank and fortune.

It is argued by those who mean to mislead them, let there be no distinctions among men, but what arise from virtue and superior merit. Let the King, who is to be seated on the throne, be the wisest and best man who can be found. Who does not see that we should soon quarrel about degrees of merit, and make room for the strongest to obtain the preference? Would not every kingdom find a brutal
Max-

Maximin, who, devoid of principle, and having nothing but his extraordinary courage to boast of, would, under the notion of being *the soldiers friend*, and with insinuations that an œconomical and virtuous Prince, like Alexander Severus, was unfit to reign, corrupt the Prætorian Guards, and by their aid place himself on the throne, until expelled by a more fortunate usurper?

Supposing we should admit that the inhabitants of this island are too jealous of a standing army, to have a King imposed on them by the military, yet the history of Poland gives us no favourable idea of an elective Monarchy. The election of Kings has ever proved the source of faction, of hatred, of internal commotions, and has never been favourable to the happiness of the community: it was the wish, therefore, of the most patriotic Poles to convert their elective into an hereditary Monarchy.

As subordination is very necessary for society, and contentions for superiority are very dangerous, all civilized nations have settled hereditary succession and distinctions of rank upon a plain invariable principle. Thus, a man is born to *hereditary* rank, or an appointment to offices gives him

him a *temporary* precedence. This subordination tends greatly to human happiness; for were all men upon an equality, we should have no other enjoyment than mere animal pleasure.

Nature designed it differently; otherwise we should have been made like sparrows, rooks, and jays, of the same colour, of the same size, of the same strength; endowed with the same propensities; but infinite wisdom having stimulated mankind by different passions, and granted them different endowments; to some force of body, to others activity of mind, it is his divine decree, that those who are weak, debauched, and idle, should yield to those who have industry, sobriety, and sense. Of the two apprentices in the moral engravings of the inimitable Hogarth, one rose by his industry to be Lord Mayor, whilst the other sunk by idleness into a malefactor, and ended his days at Tyburn.

So far is it from being true, that men are born equal, and remain so through life, that no two men can be half an hour in company, but one of them shall obtain an evident superiority *.

* Dr. Johnson.

M. D'Alembert assigns the reasons why distinctions must be given to birth and fortune rather than to talents. If he could have claimed them for the *Republic of Letters*, he naturally would have done it. As men cannot remain equal, he says, it is necessary that the distinction between them should be secured by invariable rules, such as cannot be disputed. Now these are only found in birth and fortune. As for the old feudal names, so much the sport of Tom Paine's ridicule, they are as good as any others: they were ready at hand, and had besides the advantage of ancient custom and popular opinion in their favour.

When Montesquieu, continued D'Alembert, speaks of Equality in Democracies, he does not mean an *extreme, absolute*, and consequently *chimerical Equality*, but that happy equipoise, which causes all the Citizens of the Republic to be equally submissive to the laws, and equally interested to protect them.

Voltaire was clearly of opinion, that though all men were equally under the protection of the laws for their personal liberty and property, yet it was a great mistake to suppose that men should be on a footing as to employments.

We

We must continually present to our minds the difference between Independence and Liberty.—A certain nation thought their freedom at an end, when prohibited from wearing a long beard ; another, when it was forbidden to plough with their horses tails. Colonies, both ancient and modern, have been held in a state of dependence.—The Americans had personal Liberty and security of property, but Great Britain claimed the right of internal regulation to inhibit America from making a hob nail.

Few Colonists participate of the honours of the Parent State---The Americans have therefore rejected all distinctions of rank in their new Constitution. This they could do with more propriety than the French, with whom the spirit of nobility was national property.

I never saw much to admire, or much to censure, in Mr. Burke's making nobility the Corinthian capital of the column of the State. I will propose to the scoffers another figure, and say, strip St. Paul's Church, or a magnificent palace of its ornaments, they may be great and confused buildings, but the beauty and symmetry will disappear. It is not enough to assert, that divine service may as well be performed

formed in a barn, or a King sleep as soundly in a hovel.

The manners of Europe, which form so great a part of our social duty and social happiness, originated among the nobility of Europe; and even in the more improved and more equalized state of society, gradations of rank are necessary to preserve those sentiments, which soften the ruggedness of human character, and teach man to respect at once the dignity of others, and to support his own *. Refinement generally descends from the higher to the lower ranks, and its authority is facilitated by the authority of illustrious example, and by the necessity which custom imposes upon us to recognize that pre-eminence, which is fixed by a known rule, and distinguished by an appropriate name. I would no more deprive a nobleman of his rank than I would of his money; and considering myself as acting a part in the great system of society, I find it my duty to do unto others as I would they should do unto me.

The Revolutionists of France have dealt more in destruction than levelling; they have acted as Jack Cade would have done,

* Dr. Parr.

when

when he told his followers, " that he hoped
 " to see the time when not a nobleman or
 " gentleman would be left, and that his
 " palfrey would graze in Cheapſide."---
 The preſent Levellers of Great Britain
 and Ireland, not quite ſo bloody minded,
 are contented to level *down* as far as them-
 ſelves, but have no wiſh to level *up* to
 themſelves. Dr. Johnson put the caſe of a
 Shoemaker claiming an equality with a
 Poet, as the Bard does with a Lord, at
 which pretenſion he ſuppoſed the author
 would ſtare. " Why, Sir, do you open
 " your ſaucer eyes? (cried Criſpin) I do
 " great ſervice to ſociety; it is true, I am
 " paid for doing it; but ſo are you, and I
 " am ſorry to ſay, better paid than I am
 " for doing ſomething not ſo neceſſary;
 " for, mankind could be better without
 " your books than without my ſhoes."---
 All this would be fair, if the Shoemaker
 did not ſtep out of his profeſſion; if he did
 not become a politician; if he did not
 neglect his buſineſs, and, like the Quid-
 nunc Barber in the Farce, bring ruin on
 his family. The old proverb ſays truly,
ne ſutor ultra crepidam.

The love of pre-eminence is innate.
 This would be manifeſted by the Shoe-
 maker himſelf, if he had an opportunity
 to ſhew it. Now, were he elected church-
 G 2 warden,

warden, and did he obtain the privilege of sitting in a pew attached to that office from time immemorial, who doubts of his being sorely vexed to be turned out, to stand in the middle of the aisle? Rank, by established rules, can do no harm, as they excite no jealousy; no man can create them for himself.

Would Shoemakers or nations drive a good trade, and become affluent, they must have rich customers; the richer the better; poor ones will only make debts. Every tradesman may be assured, that whilst inequality of rank and fortune is permitted, by which luxury and vanity may be indulged, his fraternity is benefited at the expence of a few low bows to Lords and Ladies, to Knights and Squires,

I must inform my levelling Shoemaker, that under the deluded cry of equality, the idle and industrious will be put upon the same footing, and the fruits of virtuous industry will be parcelled out to the inactive and useless Members of the Community. M. Brissot de Warville, one of the Leaders of the Convention, and Advocates for extreme Equality, avowed these sentiments, that property is a crime against nature; a subversion of all ideas of right and wrong.---Walls, doors and bolts, which
protect

protect the exclusive enjoyments of the rich proprietors, prove the tyranny of the possessor, not the property. The wine and corn do not belong to those who *grow* them, but to those who *want* them. The necessity of food establishes in men the right of making themselves masters of every thing they want for their nourishment, and even the *right of eating their fellow-creatures*. Another human want authorises a man to seize upon any woman he meets,

These rapacious notions having been propagated from France to England, and inflammatory writings and hand-bills having been distributed to the lower classes of the people to incite them to plunder, the levelling Shoemaker, who still thought that his principal customers had too much affluence, had his own house broken open in the middle of the night by a troop composed of innocent and infatuated persons, and lawless ruffians; for such are always ready to take advantage of confusion, and, rushing from their lurking places, to commit depredations. These villains robbed him of the best part of his property, and committed rapes on his wife and daughters. The Shoemaker complained, in the anguish of his soul, of the violence and injustice. The leader of the banditti
learnedly

learnedly laid down as law, from the First Part of Paine's Rights of Man, that no man can have a right to possess any thing to the exclusion of others*; and that every man has a right, by his own force, and the assistance of society, if necessary, (pointing to his associates) to resist such exclusion; and the enjoyment of a beautiful female, or any other the goods of fortune, being among these natural Rights, in which the power to execute is as perfect as the right itself, it follows, that those acts which have been injuriously distinguished, and unjustly punished under the names of rape and robbery, and burglary and assassination, are in reality no more than civil rights founded on natural rights pre-existing in the individual. He added further, as to the laws against theft or burglary, they are not only in contradiction with the unalienable equal Rights of Men, but were made by men, who having ceased to be, have no longer any authority in directing how the world shall be organized and administered. It is the living, and not the dead Dr. Last, who are to be accommodated; the Rights of the living cannot be *willed* away by the *manuscript* authority of the dead. Dr. Last talked of recent Acts of Parliament, but

* Consult Sir Brook Boothby's Answer.

he was silenced with a blow, and told, that as his followers were not represented, laws so partially made, and enacted by corrupt Legislators, were not binding on freemen.

Thus the levelling Shoemaker found to his cost, that people without property have a direct and positive interest in public confusion, and in the consequent division of that property of which they are destitute. Admit that there is an unequal distribution of the gifts of fortune, and that some are ill provided, still it is better that some should be unhappy than that none should be happy, which would be the lot of mankind in a general state of Equality.

According to the admirers of Rousseau, and the advocates for anarchy, under the pretext of the equal Rights of Men, he who drove the first stake, and planted the first hedge, instead of being a benefactor to posterity, deserved the execration of mankind. Is it now meant to throw down inclosures, and to make every thing common? But without going those lengths, the plough will not be put into the ground, unless under the protection of the law:—"He who sows, is sure to reap."

To

To prevent accumulations of property, the Levellers of France have interfered in intails and wills. Deprive a man of the power of disposing of his property, his mind will turn to indolence or dissipation; not to œconomy or improvement. A man is industrious, not so much that he may enjoy, as that he may survive in his posterity: but that cannot be done otherwise than by *making masses*, and heaping them *on single heads*. Do the French Levellers really believe that the title of Citizen, with a limited income, is all that an ambitious or avaritious man will ever wish to attain? As well may he preach to a Brahmin to throw down the separation of casts, and by way of comfort, assure him that the new appellation of Brother Citizen is the epithet he should prefer, as a member of the grand community of human beings. The Brahmin will continue to maintain that it was the dispensation of God's Providence that a part should take the lead, and think for the rest; a part fight, a part till the ground, a part be employed in handicraft trades. He will add, that the thinking cast came out of the head of Brahma, the two other casts from his hands, the servile one sprung from his feet.

It is put in hand-bills, *Have you not legs and arms?* by way of stirring up the populace

pulace to the use of them. Whenever a better sort of people are disposed to use these words, and to argue for the complete levelling system, they should recall to their remembrance the fable of the members conspiring against the head.—The proposal of the legs, for instance, was, that the head should take its turn to carry the body. An apologue of this sort happily applied, brought back to their duty the Roman people after a secession; for the Roman people, at that time, had common sense. The Apostle * has likewise applied the figure of the human body having many members to the Church of Christ, “that there should be no schism
 “in the body, but that the members should
 “have the same care one of the other.
 “The eye cannot say unto the hand, I
 “have no need of thee, nor again, the
 “head to the feet, I have no need of
 “thee.” The Apostle, we know, was a friend to order and decency; to obedience to the Civil Magistrate: in this he followed the example of Christ himself, who directed his Disciples “to give unto
 “Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and
 “unto God the things which are God’s.”

To such preposterous lengths have the French Levellers proceeded, that it is for-

* Corinth. ch. xii.

bidden to have servants. No man is to wear a livery : he is not to appear behind a coach. The coachman is to be called the *aid* on the box ; the cook the *aid* in the kitchen. In all probability, these *aids* will claim more than was bargained for by those who admitted them into their houses, and it will be well if they do not insist, under the notion of perfect Equality, that the masters and mistresses take their turn in the menial offices of the family.

Could the Levellers succeed in England, as they have in France, to destroy family distinctions, we may depend upon it that such Equality can only last for a time, and that either the old families will be restored, or new ones usurp their places.

The Republic of Florence once tried a similar experiment, as is recorded by Machiavel, and in a manner which shews he was a friend to Republican Liberty well understood. After a dreadful civil commotion, the nobles were expelled, and were obliged to purchase their re-admission to the privileges of citizens, by laying down their armorial bearings, their family names, and entering themselves among some of the trading companies ; but this violent measure did not insure
peace

peace to that distracted Republic. The nobles, who submitted to this degradation, were still considered as a distinct body of men; they were called *Nobili popolini*. The old factions were kept up, and new ones arose between the rich and poor plebeians; between the companies of merchants and those of mechanics, called *Arti Maggiori*, and *Arti Minori*; till the Republic, wearied out by incessant discord, sunk under the power of the *Medici* family, who first paved their way to grandeur, by courting the *Arti Minori*, or companies of inferior tradesmen. It will be no unprofitable speculation to compare the third and fourth books of Machiavel's History of Florence* with Brissot's

* The enmities between the nobles and the people of Rome were decided for a long time by speeches, in Florence by arms; in Rome, they were generally terminated by some new law, in Florence, by exile and death.

These different effects proceeded from the different ends proposed by the Roman and the Florentine people. The people of Rome desired to enjoy high offices and honours jointly with the nobles, not to destroy those honours. The people of Florence struggled to enjoy them alone, and to exclude the nobles from any share in the Government — The wish of the Roman people was reasonable; on the other hand, the desire of the Florentine people was injurious and unjust, which made the nobility stand stoutly in their defence, and occasioned the death and banishment of many citizens.

What Mr. Grey, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Whitbread, are to get by venturing into the *new State Lottery of chances*, I am at a loss to imagine. These

Brissot's Preface, where he complains that merchants and bankers consider mechanics as their inferiors, in order to point out that similar passions operate alike in distant ages.

The consequence of all civil wars is, that new men and new families succeed to fill the places of those who have been swept away; though, in these struggles, every upstart does not succeed to perpetuate his race *. A long list of names might be inserted, not much to the honour of *this natural kind of nobility* of men, who, from low and mechanical stations, have arisen to sudden power by the force of their original genius, or by fortunate circumstances, and have grossly abused their talents, and that transient power, to which they were elevated. Cleon, the Leather-seller at Athens; Agathocles, the Potter of Syracuse; the Tribune Saturnius; the Consul Marius in Ancient Rome; Rienzi, the Attorney in Modern Rome; Masiniello, the Fisherman of Naples; Wat, the

who have much to lose, should be cautious to sit down to play with needy gamblers; for should they be unfortunate, and the odds are against them, these companions of the gaming table may rise with acquiring half their fortunes; nor would the losers deserve the smallest commiseration, ~~could~~ if the mischief be confined to themselves.

* Sketch of the French Revolution,

Tyler;

Tyler; Jack Cade, the Blacksmith; and Tom Paine, the Stay-maker, a Member of the National Convention, not to speak of his colleagues, *the flowers of the Jacobin Club*, who have been imbruing their hands in the blood of the best families in France, and have consummated their cruelty in taking away the life of the much-injured King; are striking examples of the sudden rises, and as sudden falls: and yet these make but a small part of those tyrannical nobles by nature, under whose government, whether it lasted ten days, or twenty years, no sensible Englishman would wish to live.

Before an Englishman lends his assistance to a popular leader, or enrolls his name in a factious club, instead of Paine's Rights of Man, I recommend him to peruse Thucydides with attention, particularly the Troubles of Corcyra, in his Third Book. —The massacre was more extensive, but in other respects not unlike the massacre of Avignon. The **murderers** there were not excepted from the general amnesty, because their crimes, it was pretended, were occasioned by the enormities of Aristocracy. The nobles and the common people of Corcyra having been long at variance, the dispute was at length terminated by the massacre of the noble families,

lies. The Athenians rejoiced, because it obliged Corcyra to seek their alliance. But the profound historian saw, in the cruelty with which this sedition was conducted, the primary causes of all the crimes, and all the misfortunes, which irreparably stained the Grecian name. He plainly shews, how no treaty could reconcile the factious, no oaths hold them in awe. Men were induced to attempt crimes, which surpassed what had been heard of, sometimes contriving new stratagems, sometimes unheard-of modes of revenge. It was praise-worthy to forestall the evil which another intended. Men were ashamed of innocence, and took delight in blood.

When future historians shall recite the massacres of France, and the extenuations, even justifications of these murders in the National Assembly, and in public prints, posterity will find, that the Corcyraean people were far exceeded in cruelty and wickedness by France, where a whole people have thrown aside the milk of human kindness, and, like their rulers, delight in persecution and torments. When our children shall read the proceedings of the Convention, and contemplate the climax of atrocity to which it has arrived, they will be justified in pronouncing that the majority of the pretended philosophers,

phers, who now decide on the fate of France, and would overturn the established Governments of Europe, instead of believing in a Supreme Being, the rewarder of actions, of mercy and justice, looked up to one whose power to do mischief is infinite, and who will fully recompense those votaries who commit the greatest enormities.—What notion they entertain of the mock deity, the tutelary divinity of France, by which they have sworn since the execution of the King, remains to be explained.

Citizen Paine, who is a bad Englishman, makes a good Frenchman, in not approving deeds of blood *. He told the.
Con-

* “ Something there was which stopped up the access
“ and passage to remorse.” When we consider the proceedings of the Convention on the King’s Trial, that his accusers were judges; that he was condemned not only in violation of the political law of the land, but in violation of the civil code, which in cases of life and death requires the culprit to be found guilty by two thirds of the Jury; when we hear of the frivolous charges, the suppression of evidence, the denial of appeal, the chicanery of judges, the refusal of a respite of only three days, requested by the King to make his peace with his Maker; when we contemplate on the manner of his execution in the most public place of the city; the savageness of the Commander in preventing the King from declaring his innocence to the people; the brutality of the Convention, in not allowing his remains to be decently interred; we are warranted to say, that so much
mockery

Convention, that the execution of the late King would give extreme sorrow to the Americans, who considered him as their benefactor; and demanded that Lewis and his family should be banished to the American States.—The Convention likewise refused to listen to any proposal respecting Lewis from the Spanish Minister, though accompanied with the offer of mediating with the Belligerent Powers, and which refusal is a direct refutation of what was urged by Mr. Fox of the utility of sending a Minister from England to treat with the Usurpers. Now, as men are seldom cruel without a motive, it is believed that the King's death was bargained for in a compromise between two leading parties, and a Prince as flagitious as Cæsar Borgia. His vote and influence could easily have saved the King, who was condemned only by a majority of five. To him, therefore, may be applied the words of Macbeth:—

————— “ I have no spur

“ To prick the sides of my intent, but only

mockery of justice, and refinement of cruelty, can be compared with nothing but a trial of the Inquisition in the very worst times of that detestable tribunal, and that the execution resembled an *Auto de Fe* at Lisbon. I recommend to my readers to peruse the soliloquy of Macbeth for the character of Duncan, as applicable to the late catastrophe. The repentance of his kinsman, though slow, is sure.

“ Vaulting

" Vaulting ambition, which o'er-leaps itself,
 " And falls on th' other."——
 " Treason has done its worst; nor steel, nor poison,
 " Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
 " Can touch him further !"

It is for Britons to consider, whether after such fatal examples, they will deliberately excite animosities, which must terminate in the ruin of their country; if not, in deluging it with blood. It is surely phrenzy in those who have property, to join miscreants and ruffians, who aim, under the cry of Equality, at the destruction of all property. They will find to their cost, that when law shall cease, and government shall be no longer able to defend our rights, shall give way to anarchy, political fanatics will shew themselves more destructive than religious ones. Arts and learning had nearly been extinguished by the barbarian swarms, but they run as great risks from a rabble, as ignorant, as cruel, and more enthusiastic. All documents relating to descent have been burned by order of the Convention: similar to this folly, was a proposition in one of the Parliaments summoned by Cromwell, that the Records in the Tower should be destroyed, in order that the memory of things past should be effaced, and that the whole system of life should begin from a new

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era. —What the mob in France might spare, their legislators seem disposed to lay waste. Cathedrals and Churches will fall into ruins, when the Religious Establishment, by which they are supported, shall be abolished. The Minister of the Home Department has proposed, that the houses of Emigrants shall be demolished, before the demesnes shall be put to sale—Palaces, the dreaded dens of tyrants, will be either levelled with the ground, or be converted into alms-houses. The gardens of Versailles will become a swamp; the fountains will be destroyed, the plantations cut down; not a vestige will be left of Royal magnificence or Aristocratic splendour, throughout the kingdom; unless we suppose, that greater havock being made of the public money by needy Adventurers, (the present Generals and Contractors), than by the harpies of the Aristocracy, their descendants will occupy the *Hotels* and *Chateaux* of the ancient nobility. But for new accumulations, the grass would grow in the streets of Paris.

There is nothing so clear to the intelligent traveller as, that the power of France, notwithstanding its present brilliant successes, is retrograde: and, instead of coupling, as we used to do, slavery and wooden shoes, we shall see Equality and
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no shoes at all, unless the Society for Constitutional Knowledge take compassion upon them, and send them a weekly supply *. Manufactures, Commerce, and Agriculture, are rapidly declining, the two former cannot flourish, but by large capitals. As to the latter, it was always managed in so preposterous a way, as not to furnish a sufficiency to feed themselves; nor is the bad system of Agriculture likely to mend, whilst the mob plunder, or assemble to fix the price of Corn; whilst the rulers of the Nation in their new Science of Government load the land with taxes, encourage small farms, divide landed property in infinitum, prohibit the inclosures of commons, and punish all speculators and hoarders of the necessaries of life.

The great division of property, we are assured, has already nursed up a population, which France cannot feed. They have four or five millions more than they can supply, and *that redundancy* of population is to be increased by all possible means, under a government, in which the wishes of the people are to be gratified. The Assembly having declared, that the poor have a right to pecuniary assistance from the State, fifty millions will be

* Young's Tour.

the fore-runner of one hundred, and one hundred the parent of increasing misery. Without large farms, flocks of sheep cannot be maintained ; and, without sheep, the land will not be improved. The crops which support cattle and sheep, are of an ameliorating nature ; those which yield bread, are exhausting. Difficult it is to find bread-corn for a populous nation, but they should be informed, that with regard to the furnishing of butchers meat to the lower ranks, it is absolutely impossible. The benevolent wish of Henry the Fourth, that he hoped to see the day when every subject might have a fowl for his Sundays dinner, must not be taken in the literal sense.

Several millions of livres have been impressed to the Minister of the Home Department, to purchase grain in foreign countries. The same operation was attempted by M. Necker, and which cost the nation near two millions sterling.—It is a well known fact, that when the Corn Trade is left to private adventurers, the markets are supplied at such a price, as they can afford, and that whenever the public Treasury is opened to sacrifice great sums in the project of buying *dear* and selling *cheap* ; Corn-factors, an useful
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set of men, retire from a business surrounded with perils, and leave to the Minister the arduous, if not impracticable task of supplying the nation with its daily bread. Besides this interference in the Corn Trade, the Convention has passed a decree to inflict severe punishments on Farmers and Corn-merchants who do not render exact accounts of what grain they have in store. By intimidation the Assembly may produce a glut at market for a little time, but that forced superabundance will be followed by a proportionable scarcity, and having once begun to issue money to purchase Corn, and driven speculators from the trade, (which M. Roland acknowledges has been the case) they must go on until the next harvest, before which time they will involve the State in a loss, (on account of the difference of exchange and the immense quantity to be bought) far exceeding what M. Necker incurred. The prices of grain both at home and abroad, immediately rise on the passing of such votes; but that is not the only inconvenience; by such grants, the country is taxed, that their sovereigns, the Sans Culottes of the Capital may have food at a cheap rate.*

With

* Mr. Young in his Tour (p. 411.) found the average Price of Provision as dear in France as in England, whilst
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With so much greediness do these Sans Culottes swallow the most improbable tales of their leaders, that one of the articles against the unhappy and much injured King, was, that he was concerned in a monopoly of grain, sugar, and tobacco; and whenever the scarcity of the former article has been mentioned in the Convention, immediate allusion has been made to the unfortunate Prisoner in the Temple. Since his Execution, the next victim of popular vengeance will be the Minister of the Home Department, whose name has already been expunged from the Jacobin Club. His only chance to escape was to resign.

I have dwelt the longer on this point on account of the expected dearth, in England, arising from the bad harvest of last year. The persons whose hardships are most to be deplored on such occasions, are those concerned in husbandry, and there is no doubt they will merit the peculiar attention of the Gentry, Yeomanry, and Farmers.

As for the Manufacturers, it has often been observed, that most work is done

the average Price of Labour was 76 per cent. lower :
Since this estimate was made, the difference has been
greatly to the disadvantage of the former kingdom.

when

when wheat is dearest. They dissipate less of their earnings at dram-shops and ale-houses.

Such a demand has been made of our manufactures of late, that the workmen elated with their extraordinary gains have devoted too much of their time to idleness, and to the reading of inflammatory writings, in which *extreme Equality* is recommended to them. An Agrarian law is proposed to them as a theme for discussion. Could such a division of property take place, it must be obvious that by the acquisitions and savings of the industrious, an inequality of conditions would recommence, and unless the distribution were renewed every twenty years, those who had obtained their three or four acres a head would be found comparatively destitute. I might venture to add, that could such a minute division be made, the Husbandman would not obtain so much profit out of the produce of his crops, to support his family, as he does now from the price of his daily labours.

The notion of every man having his proportion of the soil and none to domineer over him as a landlord, would indeed make us so far equal that we should all degenerate into brutes: We should become,

come, in Dr. Johnson's words, Lord Monboddo's nation; "*Our tails would grow.*" The fact is, that all would be losers, when reduced to plant their own cabbages and make their own cloaths. Their time so employed, there could be no intellectual improvement. The progress of intellectual improvement is extremely slow, and is produced by leisure. This leisure arises from some working, whilst others think.

Addressing myself to the inhabitants of Europe, and of this Island in particular, I contend, that in equalizing property you renounce the blessings of polished society, and the comforts of sober industry. These extinguished, rest contented with wretched huts, with coarse food, with undyed skins for garments; with misery as your only security, and with death, as your only release from distemper. The lights of reason and revelation being quenched, your children would roam as free as the beasts of the forest, and would soon become as savage.

* To estimate his relative situation, a pauper is to compare himself with the beast of the forest, as well as with the 'Squire of the parish; and he will find that his in-

* Dr. Johnson.

feriority

feriority in civil society to the latter is infinitely small, when compared to his advantages over animal nature. In short, he is an immense gainer by the social contract.

This he would soon find, supposing he and the 'squire were transported, and put down in some uncultivated Island in the South Sea, or in the back parts of North America, to contend with the wild beasts for their daily food, and to shelter themselves in the night time, or from an impending storm in a hollow tree, or in a cavern of the mountain. The consciousness of perfect freedom, and the barren enjoyment of unappropriated waste, would be as little compensation to the European Pauper, as to the Gentleman, and they would be compelled to enter into a compact for their mutual assistance and defence ; and he who had most understanding, would naturally take the lead, and direct the other for his good.

Daniel de Foe, in his useful and entertaining Novel, very properly made Robinson Crusoe to command, and Friday to obey.

On the contrary, the union which took place between the officers and the crew
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of the Bounty, was of short continuance ; and though it was referred by CHRISTIAN to the Pirates, to decide by a majority of voices, yet dissention arose from want of that subordination to which they had been accustomed, and the society was dissolved. Whilst it lasted, they obtained a precarious subsistence either by fraud, or violence, and may be said to have never enjoyed a single moment of ease, much less of happiness. Should some of the Convicts to Botany Bay separate from the rest, and even find a spot more favoured by Nature, they would soon be destroyed by their own disagreements. Now I mention Transports, it may not be amiss to observe, that it is idleness which leads to vice, and vice to the commission of crimes, and that few are reduced to poverty in England, but through idleness : the law having provided for the maintenance of the deserving poor *, no man need beg or steal.

Rouffseau

* The Poor divide in the rates which are assessed for their use, above a ninth part of the landed property of England and Wales. An equal division of land would be therefore to these Paupers a misfortune ; they would possess far less, than by the *Laws of the Land* they are at present intitled to ; but were it otherwise, as not above one in forty is obliged to go to the Parish Officers for assistance, it is not reasonable, that the remaining thirty-nine who support them, should be deprived of their comforts.—

Rousseau has *very truly said*, that to enrich one man, many must be impoverished, so that the number of *relative poor* will always exceed the rich; but it is likewise to be remarked, that to build a great man's palace, much more a city, numbers of industrious workmen are employed, and they and their families are rendered happy. They would be less happy, if the amount of their wages were given them for doing nothing. The low citizens of Rome, who had bread allowed them out of the common stock, and had entertainments *gratis*, were in a less enviable situation than the lowest inhabitants of a modern commercial city.

forts.—The rich, indeed, might be deprived of some superfluities, but the poor would not be provided with necessities. He who labours, must labour still. The only difference would be, that to procure subsistence, his labour would be more incessant and less productive, than in a state of unequal distribution. The common people of England may be relied on more than the labourers of other countries, from a fund of good sense and good humour, (an instance of which may be produced):—A man, who could neither read nor write, presented himself to the Committee of Association at Bath, and desired the Chairman to subscribe his name: From such marks of ignorance he was interrogated, whether he knew the occasion of the Meeting: his answer was, he did, he came, he said, to unite with others in support of the Constitution; he added, that he came to defend his property, for, having acquired some by hard labour, he did not mean that those who had never done a day's work in their lives, should wrest it from him.

In such places, not only learning, but good cloaths and other external advantages make the owners much more respected, as proofs of their industry or their skill, and of the general disapprobation of dissipation and idleness. We have no windows in our breast, by which the workings and qualities of the heart may be seen: But every man has a coat upon his back, and when we see it in rags, we are unavoidably led to suppose that idleness has been partly, if not altogether the occasion. Now because an innocent man is sometimes involved in this censure, is it necessary that all should put on a tattered garment? All live like Diogenes in tubs, and exultingly cry, Behold all the goods I have, *omnia mea mecum porto*. Yet such is the strange appearance of Paris, that people of property are under the necessity of disguising themselves in bad cloathing to avoid insult.

- * To unite the importance of property with the indifference of equality is not in nature: without selfishness there would be no motive to action. Equality excludes distinction. Take away distinction, property loses its object, and with that its existence.

But the objection to property, say the levellers, is *the power* which it gives; that it commands services, and creates dependance.

Here an account of the profit and loss shall be drawn out, to shew the advantages and disadvantages of wealth.

Riches do Harm; On the other side, put that private vices are frequently public benefits, by the encouragement which luxury gives to industry.

They do Good; But in doing good, they confer favors and procure influence.

In the first case to prevent the accidental abuses of luxury, is it adviseable to pass sumptuary laws to limit consumption? though in small republicks it is practised to reduce folks to an apparent equality, yet when attempted at Rome it never succeeded. * "Let Kings and Ministers look well after the public expence, they may safely trust private people with theirs." In the last case to prevent influence, and

* Adam Smith.

power which follows influence, would you go the length, to declare by law that no man should do an action of munificence without leave of the Magistrate? There is no alternative; you must either prohibit the use of the precious metals, like the Spartans, or leave them to their natural operation, and as water to find their own level. An attempt to raise banks to pen them up, whilst their currency is allowed, would be as nonsensical and ineffectual as to try to stop the tide with a bull-rush. That is not all---The poorest nations are not the most virtuous. This I will maintain in spite of Jean Jaques' eloquence and sophistry. The islands visited by our circumnavigators exhibit the directly contrary fact: The Arab Shepherds, with their milk and dates, are not a nation of worthies: we know that like their brethren of Algiers, they are robbers and banditti.

So long as there is a reciprocity of interest the inequality of situation is little felt, and from the highest to the lowest of the community there is a gradation, which softens the fall, and instead of the abruptness of a precipice, produces the effect of a gentle and easy descent. There is no country where there is greater inequality from riches and honours than in China,
but

but there is no country where the lower orders have greater manners. Should two porters jostle, they would put down their burdens, to make low bows and mutual excuses.

Lord Bacon considered the want of an hereditary nobility, (what he called *Stirpes*), among the Turks, as a proof, that they are barbarians. Could you introduce a middle order between the Grand Signor, and the hewers of wood and drawers of water, despotism, as in the arbitrary Governments of Europe, would be mitigated. As it exists at present, nobody who approaches the throne, has an interest or inclination to protect innocence, and encourage merit. Yet with all these disadvantages, it is safer to live in modern Turkey, than under the present Democracy of France, whose suspicion is more awake, and in action more revengeful.

The despotism of mobs resembles in some respects the despotism of the Porte. To get at the fruit, they proceed with equal violence and indiscretion to cut down the tree.

After this manner there is no doubt, that if the poor being the most numerous should reason, we will be poor no longer,
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we will make the rich take their turn, that they could do it as easily and effectually as in France. Luckily the more numerous men are, the more difficult it is for them to combine and agree to one thing, and so they are governed. The common soldiers and sailors being the most numerous may turn away their officers; an army may cut to pieces their general. Much pains have been taken to stir up the privates of our marching regiments to mutiny: for which execrable purpose, * inflammatory papers have been published and given away to misrepresent their situation, and

* A Pamphlet has been circulated, and I am told given away, entitled "*The Soldiers Friend*," composed in such a style of invective and aggravation, that one is led to suspect, that *irritation* rather than *redress*, was the intention of the work. The Author, or he who furnished materials, is supposed to have been the Serjeant Major, who brought charges against a Captain, Adjutant, and Paymaster of a Marching Regiment.

In consequence of this accusation a Court Martial was appointed, but the accuser absconded before the day of meeting. He had summoned forty-seven private soldiers, as witnesses; these, being sworn by the Judge Advocate, and after hearing the charges read, being interrogated whether they had any thing to offer in support of them, answered *severally* they had not. The sentence of the Court approved by the King, was, that the accusation was malicious. It has been supposed that money was given to this Sergeant-Major to incite the army to mutiny. He had been an Attorney's clerk, therefore was a fit instrument of *chicane*. Falstaff was too wise to take such men into his Corps.

to

to induce them to obtain redress by their muskets.

Destroy the discipline of the army, and it will become extremely dangerous. Subordination is necessary through all the ranks of which the community is composed. * In fact, an army may as well consist of folders without officers and of officers without folders, as a state, especially one which is of great extent, of a communality without a gentry, or a gentry without a communality. In the primitive church, "were they all apostles, all prophets, all teachers?"

† "It is true that some privileges are annexed to birth. The Judges and other Magistrates have some annexed to their office, and professional men have some annexed to their professions, but these privileges are neither injurious to the liberty or property of other men. And you might as reasonably contend that the bramble ought to be equal to the oak, the lamb to the lion, as that no distinctions should take place between the members of the same society."

* Harrington.

† Bishop of Landaff's Sermon.

If the gentry must be exterminated, wholesale dealers and merchants, stigmatized as monopolists and engrossers, must be reduced to the level of retailers. Such aspiring men are incompatible in a republic of equality; for commerce begets riches, and riches pride—a difficulty occurs, to decide on the disposal of their shipping. Now, I know of no method to equalize this property, but to enact that no man should possess more than a fishing smack, and that the merchantmen should be broken up, and the timbers divided in equal shares either for fuel, or to erect cottages on commons.

From the destruction of rank, the transition is easy to the demolition of property. Those who are for equalization will inveigh against what they will call the unjust means by which property has most commonly been acquired. The levellers have only to say, it must be unjust to keep that which was unjustly gotten, and then they are to insist on the bad use that many people make of their property, and on the much better use that others may make of it. Moreover the robbery may be defended as a laudable practice from what the Israelites did to their hard task-masters, whom they despoiled. Let them urge that it is not done for selfish motives, but
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on public grounds, and that if they suspect, even on slight evidence, that the possessor is a secret enemy to the new order of things, it is no more than prudence to deprive him of the means of overturning it. And “*ce qu’il bon a prendre est bon a garder.*”

Another argument for the destruction of property, is the little which is necessary to support nature. This was fixed by Sir William Petty at three pounds a year. As times are altered, let us call it six; or, if you please, ten. This sum will fill your belly, shelter you from the weather, and even get you a lasting coat, provided it be made of good bulls hide. All beyond this is artificial, and is desired only to amass it in coffers, or if used, to obtain a greater degree of respect from our fellow-creatures. Perhaps they who have a large fortune may not be so happy as they who have a small one. Ease such of their superfluity for the good of their souls, as you would evacuate them after repletion, for the good of their bodies. Tell them that money is in itself of no use, for its only use is to part with it. Comfort them that they will sleep better for lessening their anxiety, and that you mean to make them another visit to inquire after their health, and to see whether they have not still to

spare; remind them that riches are merely comparative, and by what should be assigned them, they would yet be wealthy, since their riches would exceed those of the greater number of their fellow-citizens.

Arguments will not be wanted in the new order of things in favour of *larceny*. It will be familiarly said, every man steals in his own way. A man who takes a bribe is a thief, and he who gives it is the purchaser of stolen goods knowing them to be stolen. Exorbitant fees are robberies. A man who over-reaches another in a bargain is a vile thief; even the Pope is a swindler and his dispensations knavish tricks. Merchandize is a perpetual struggle of deception, and the qualification of a retailer is roguishness. Mercury was considered by the Ancients, both as the god of robbers and the deity, who presided over commerce. Piracy was an honourable distinction among them, as privateering is licensed by us. Our Norman ancestors were freebooters. The Spartan policy, so much admired, taught their children to be dexterous in picking pockets. Improvement in modern jurisprudence has been to punish little rogues, and to contrive loop-holes for rich men to escape.

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The higher we ascend in antiquity, the more we shall find that plunder and rapine were licensed. A Hebrew word signifies both food and fighting; another term expressed food and plunder; and a great variety of expressions in the Greek, denoting good and better, signified originally strong and valiant. A'PETH virtue, is derived from A'PHE, God of War.

All ancient people indulged themselves in committing ravages. The French have virtually revived this term, for they have declared immortal war against all mankind who will not submit to them, and *accept Fraternity* on condition of thinking as they do. They are much more intolerant than Mussulmen, for Mahomet and his successors allowed nations to preserve their establishments on payment of a tribute. Moldavia and Wallachia are not treated with so much rigour by the Turkish Despot, as the Netherlands are by the pretended Fraternity of the French Convention. The Executive Council have asserted, in their answer to Lord Grenville, that the French Republic is only to keep possession of these Provinces during the present War, or *till their Liberties can be secured*. But it is to be remarked, that by Liberty they mean their own Constitution, the Sovereignty of the Rabble, and
which,

which, by a Decree, they have directed their Generals to *force* on the inhabitants of Brabant. In breach of their promises to Lord Grenville, which were assurances to Europe, we find since the Declaration of War against England, that the Low Countries are to be annexed to the new Republic. The word *Hoftes*, expressed enemies and foreigners. Piracy reflected no dishonour, except when a person was taken in the act. Menelaus informed Pifistratus and Telemachus, who were astonished at his riches, that they arose from his cruizes. Aristotle put the profession of a pirate on a level with that of a husbandman, a shepherd, or a hunter. Nothing was so common amongst the Greeks, as when a stranger claimed the rights of hospitality, to ask with great indifference whether he was a pirate or a merchant. These frequent depredations gave rise to Histories of Princesses being exposed to Sea Monsters. The monsters alluded to were nothing more than mariners and free-booters *. In the Code of Hindoo Laws, derived from very high antiquity, we find regulations established for the division of booty. The Ægyptians had a regulation not totally dissimilar, it was a law to associate thieves under leaders, and

* Bryant.

a direction to oblige every one to carry his pilferings to the Captain under whom he was enrolled, and the person robbed recovered his property in payment of a quarter of the value.

The ignorance of *law* in the heroic times is inferred from this, that the word does not occur in Homer in common acceptance of that term.

Now, by Gallic refinement we shall return to the state in which mankind were struggling in the infancy of civilization; whether for the better let my countrymen determine, after examining its slow progress to maturity, and its present tendency to decay. Man was sent into the world an unfledged, ignorant, helpless animal. "The world was all before him where to choose, and Providence his guide." It required the lapse of many ages and multiplied experience, to reduce him within bounds, to accustom him to the yoke of law, to the controul of opinions, to the influence of religion. Under their fostering care, he obtained habitation, cloathing, nourishment and instruction, but his passions were bridled. An enemy to his peace arose, and told him that he was ill used, for his natural rights were abridged. In search of these unalienable privileges,
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he converted his plow-shares into instruments of destruction; he laid waste the land smiling with plenty; he set fire to churches and palaces; but, by general havoc, the most fruitful fields becoming a wilderness, he entailed misery on his posterity; many generations must pass away before he can be fashioned afresh by the slow hand of civilization, and be instructed in those duties and those arts, and those rules of subordination, which are to constitute their happiness in social life. The principles laid down by the French Levelers, have excited all those hostile passions which with difficulty had been suppressed; have encouraged a selfishness and a coveting, which both natural and revealed religion had forbidden; and promoted that disorganization of parts, which, as in a chemical process, destroys the cohesion of a mass, and causes the scum to rise to the top. Any one seeing France would exclaim—"Chaos is come again."

In their regeneration, or new order of things, the institute that no citizen shall eclipse another, extends to every circumstance of life. No less danger is to be apprehended from a distinguished than from an infamous reputation. Suspicion being awake in civil broils, the most elevated characters are the most exposed to the shafts

shafts of envy, to backbiting, to misrepresentation---“tho’ he who steals from
 “me my good name, robs me of that
 “which nought enricheth him, and makes
 “me poor indeed.” On the ground of levelling characters, as well as fortunes, the *ostracism* (this decree has been passed, and the execution was only suspended during the King’s trial) has been introduced; the Duke de Penthièvre, because he is good and virtuous, and the Sons of the Duke of Orleans, because they have distinguished themselves in the field, are to be banished France.

Thus integrity, generosity, justice, all the fine feelings and moral sentiment, will be driven from society, and what is now called *civism*, is the absence of every humane affection. *Jacobinism*, the perfection of *civism*, not only covers a multitude of sins with its mantle, but enobles the *compere*s in proportion as it is stained with blood.

Philanthropy, toleration, and morality, should be drawn forth in practice, and not merely fill the unprofitable pages of French philosophers. An Englishman under the influence of better education, conceives that there is no liberty, where there is no law, no property, no religion.

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In vain then you would admonish him, even in theory, to admit principles into civil government, which would authorize outrages and justify sedition and bloodshed: * which would encourage the peasant to seize the lands of his landlord; the servant to demand the property of his master; the labourer that of his employer; the robber to purloin his neighbour's purse; the adulterer to defile the wife of his friend; the outlawed to revile, contemn and violate the laws of the community from which he has been cut off.

It is difficult to cure men who are *insane*--- It is more difficult to induce men who have cancelled all bonds both civil and religious to return peaceably to their avocations; each man to his plow or to his loom. It is not the first time that Frenchmen, let loose from the restraint of law and morals, have been guilty of the greatest excesses. They have done so *invariably*, particularly after the battle of Poitiers, and whilst their Sovereign John remained captive in England†. The *Jaques bons Hommes*, to whom cut-throats and house-breakers united themselves, committed the most atrocious acts, until suppressed by the Regent. Jac-

* Plowden.

† 1356.

querie is now spoken of in history with horror, and so will *Sanfculotterie* some centuries hence. But what time or what energy will be needful to bring back a deluded people to a sense of order, after so total a disorganization, is not in human wisdom to predict *.

Luckily

* Dumourier has informed the Convention that in six months they will stand in no need of specie. How he is to contrive this I am at a loss, unless by plundering the Banks of London and Amsterdam. Certain it is, that wherever they have carried their arms, not contented with levying contribution, they have proceeded to sell the lands of the Clergy, and to order the money arising from such sales into a fund called the *Revolution Fund*. Cambon called the Netherlands the land of promise, where there were 800 convents to be disposed for their benefit, and Dumourier now boasts that sixty-four millions of florins are at the disposal of the Nation; his bills drawn on the Clergy, if accepted, have been accepted with his sword hanging over their heads. Citizens Camus and Gossuin, were sent Commissaries to carry into execution the Fourth Article of the Decree of the 15th of December; the Provisionary Representatives of Mecklin protested; notwithstanding which, the French troops took possession of the cathedral, the public treasure, the secular and monastic chapters, and all their several effects and appurtenances, threatening with instant death whoever should oppose them.

If ever that unhappy country shall be restored by these invaders, it will be in an exhausted state. From this example let Englishmen look to the consequences of submitting to them or acknowledging their fraternity: for it is a gross mistake to suppose that Republics are more moderate in the use of victory than Regal Governments. Dumourier seems, in the management of his conquered countries, to have adopted the maxim of Cæsar; "by
M 2 " money

Luckily for us, the inhabitants of Great Britain have seen the mischiefs brought on France by Levellers, and are determined to resist the introduction of the same anarchy. At no time have they been so unanimous. At no time have their exertions been more necessary. The policy of incendiaries, assisted by French money, has been to corrupt the army. Could our *Peace Officers in Red Coats* be brought, as in France, to join insurgents, our case would be desperate, because the Bank of England, now guarded by the military, would be the first place to be pillaged. Immediately would commence the law of the strongest. The Administration, therefore, has my sincere thanks for their care of securing the Bank and Tower against a sudden surprize. A number of desperadoes stole into England with the most mischievous intentions; their infatuated countrymen were in expectation that insurrections were to follow their entering into the ca-

" money to raise an army, and by an army to obtain
" money."

The Committee of Ways and Means has acknowledged to the Convention, that the War declared against Holland, is a war of finance. The system of rapine is now openly avowed, and countries are equally liable in future to be plundered, whether they accept or refuse fraternity. The Buccaneers, who ravaged the Coasts of America, were not greater robbers, nor more daring and unprincipled.

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pital. A Member of the National Assembly, now a Minister, declared it easy to invade England, and to plunder the Bank. The law enacted against Emigrants, however in appearance severe, was no more than expedient to disarm assassins; and to enable the Magistrate to send *les Enrages* out of the kingdom, or whilst here, to put on them *strait waistcoats*.

In opposition to Marseillois federates, *Jourdan Coup-tête*, and such villains, who having imbrued their hands in the blood of their countrymen, have been commissioned to commit the same excesses in England, I shall only say, "that the meanest rogue may ruin a city, or kill a hero; but he can neither build the one, nor equal the other*."

Politeness or civility consists in polishing off the roughness of character, and obliges men naturally boisterous and vicious to moderate their tempers and subdue their passions; and which is not done without painful exertions, supported only by the hope of obtaining the public good opinion, and of being admitted into polite circles, as well-bred persons. On the plan of equalization, as the vulgar could

* Pindar.

not be brought to equal the gentleman in manners, the French Democrats have brought down theirs to the rusticity of clowns; their dress is slovenly, their sentiments brutal, their language offensive. This extreme familiarity, or rudeness, has not contributed to make neighbours esteem one another the more; on the contrary, it has excited all the angry passions by menacing looks, by opprobrious words, by mutual reproaches, beyond any former example. In the senate, they have more the appearance of gladiators than senators. I see, therefore, no advantage in having Great Britain converted into the arena of a vast theatre, in which the actors would be wrestling, boxing, or stabbing; the spectators be elbowing, buffeting, or scrambling, and in which the weakest would either perish, or be sure to go to the wall.

As government consists in opinion, it is not improper that an uneducated people should look up to superiors, and that by this opinion, as by a general law of attraction and gravitation, all should be united, the heaviest bodies at the center. The abolition of this principle under the notion of equality, cannot produce order: It may flatter the people for a time, but the populace undeceived by misfortune will resign

resign their assumed power, as the Barebones-Parliament did to Oliver, and acknowledge their insufficiency.

Gentilis, (or Gentleman) means a man of birth and a person of gentle manners: gentlefolk or gentility, means dignity of birth and elegance of behaviour.* *Generosus*, (generous) denominates good extraction, and at the same time munificence and a nobleness of mind. On the contrary, villain and villainage express not only base servitude, but baseness and infamy. We are not singular.

The Romans expressed the better sort by *optimates*, derived from *optimus* best. Well might Mr. Hume, no indifferent historian of revolutions, no bad observer of human nature, declare that he preferred to be governed by *Gentlemen*, or the better sort. It will be said that this was the language of an *arrant tory*, and that the sovereignty residing in the people, (that is the majority) all laws are inquisitions and partial, which assign to property an unequal share; that the Commons may at any time *resume* what was never granted, but stolen from them; that all men being born equal, rank, like an unnatural excrescence, should be cut

* Johnson's Dictionary.

off, and qualifications, either of electors, or the elected, should be abolished. On the contrary, it is contended by some levellers, that if any disqualifications be admitted, they should be those of excluding the possessors of estates, for their supposed influence, from any share in the legislature. This point being carried, an Agrarian law may be expected, and all the convulsions attending such a violent *regeneration of things* (I repeat their *cant word*) which with as bold an assurance as the promise of the gospel, incites the multitude to the *expectation of a new heaven and a new earth*. Doubtless had Mr. Hume lived to this day, and seen the disorders occasioned by the confounding of all ranks, and by the lowest of the people seizing the helm, he would have had no reason to alter his opinion.

I will venture to say, that neither Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Turgot, Franklin, Raynal, nor the crazy, at least paradoxical, Jean Jaques, would have planned for France such a complicated, mishapen, democratical system of perfect equality which never did, or can exist. From their great love to posterity, the Convention seems to have destroyed the present generation, as the gardener cuts off the heads of trees, that they may make more vigorous

ous shoots from the root. The misfortune is, they have destroyed both root and branch; from want of skill in using their pruning-knife; not knowing how or what to engraft; not attending to times and seasons. Their vaunted tree of liberty, like the tree of knowledge, has hitherto done nothing, but bring death into the world, and produce the bitter fruits of repentance. Their plans resemble a little the theory of a philosopher, who had found out the means of living without food or drink, but who died unfortunately a few days after he had brought his *æconomical system* to perfection.

For my own part, I had rather submit to some imperfections in our political state than to risk the public tranquillity, by letting loose the populace from all restraint, whose action and re-action, as violent and boisterous as the raging of the sea, are as little within the controul or check of artificial and ineffectual mounds and boundaries. As little can you say to one, as to the other, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further."

The French have sanctified the truth of their own proverbial expression *que le mieux est l'Ennemi du Bien*. The Englishmen more phlegmatic and more wise, have shewn by

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their associations that they will not exchange a certainty for an uncertainty ; a reality for a shadow. Great Britain has prospered, and continues to prosper under a mixed government, which has lasted for many centuries ; when the autocracy of the people in France shall have endured only its century, and rendered the country submitted to its rule completely happy, then will be the proper time for other nations to follow their example, by receiving what shall have proved advantageous, and by rejecting what shall have turned out detrimental to the public good. What they have hitherto done, is a bold and dangerous experiment on the body politic. They will say, they have only cut out the gangrened parts, but others think they have amputated some sound limbs. Be that as it may, I shall submit to my countrymen, whether in any new or dubious operation of surgery, or on the efficacy of an untried styptic, they do not prefer their being attempted in hospitals, or on malefactors ; in short, upon any other persons than themselves. A warning was given by an Italian against *quackery*, by which he had lost his life ; “ he was well, would be better, took phyfic and died.” I will recall to the recollection of my countrymen the words of their favourite Poet, “ Better bear those ills we have, than fly to others
“ that

“that we know not of,” which are as applicable to men fond of novelty and desirous of expatriating in this world, as to those who rashly commit suicide to go in search of that undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns. To conclude—from *Political Suicide*, I would, with all the earnestness I am capable of, dissuade my countrymen. As every human institution contains in itself, the seeds of disease, and has a disposition to decay; the death of the Constitution has been for a length of time, predicted, from the increase of the regal power, and from the oppression of its ministers. It has been, likewise, predicted from its occasional tendency to democracy: but let us trust, however, that each of these predictions is equally made without reason.

Nihil est ab omni
parte beatum,

said Horace long ago, and succeeding ages have since corroborated his observation. If my countrymen will bear nothing but what is perfect, even in government, they must, I fear, in the present state of things, enroll themselves among the citizens of Utopia; they have, I am sure, too much virtue, and too much good sense to enter into the bands of fraternity with that nation,

nation, of whom it may be said, as Livy said of Hannibal, "Inhumana crudelitas
 " perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri,
 " nihil sancti, nullus deorum metus, nul-
 " lum jus jurandum, nulla religio," "with
 that nation, who are stained with the most
 inhuman cruelty, and with perfidy worse
 than that of Carthage, who have no veneration
 for the Deity, no sanction of an oath, no religion. My countrymen will,
 (I trust, before they attempt to pull down
 a government, which in spite of some few
 defects it may have, has better secured
 personal liberty, and private property,
 than any government hitherto described
 in the annals of the world) reflect upon
 this observation of the acute Guiccardini,
 in his history of Italy: "We should be
 " extremely cautious how we attempt to
 " alter any government that happens to
 " be established, for," adds he "*Revolu-*
 " *tions* are not effected with less mischiefs
 " than establishments, and unfortunate
 " indeed are those persons, who chance
 " to live at that critical and tempestuous
 " period of a government, that is to end
 " by a Revolution."

FINIS.

